Workers of the World, Unite!

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No Peace in Store for Korea, Dulles Declaration Indicates

Jim-Crow in U.S. Capital Upheld By Federal Court

By George Lavan

The 5-4 decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals Jan. 22 upholding the refusal of Washington, D.C., restaurants to serve Negroes again underlines the need for federal action to rid the nation's capital of its notorious Jim Crow.

The test case against restaurant Jim Crow arose from the refusal of a John R. Thompson restaurant to serve a group of Negroes in 1950. The suit against the management was based on laws passed in 1872 and 1873 which forbid racial discrimination in the capital's restaurants.

These laws were passed by the District of Columbia Legislative Assembly. This body no longer exists, the District now being governed directly by Congress which appoints local officials; but Assembly laws still have force.

The 1872 and 1873 laws against Jim Crow were never specifically repealed. Five judges of the Court of Appeals ruled, however, that these laws should not now be enforced because it had not been "within the power of the Legislative Assembly" to pass the laws originally and further that they had been implicitly repealed by subsequent codification of the laws of the District of Columbia.

The majority opinion, written by Chief Judge Harold M. Stevens, argued in one breath that the anti-discrimination laws were unenforceable from the beginning and had really been repealed in 1901 and in the next breath that the D.C. municipal authorities couldn't enforce these laws now because they hadn't been enforced for 78 years.

The minority opinion held that the laws had not been repealed either by recodification or Jim Crow custom. A lower court had also ruled that the 1873 law forbidding restaurant Jim Crow was still in effect.

On the same day as the court decision, F. J. Donohue, retiring District of Columbia Commissioner, met with Eisenhower. He told reporters that among other subjects segregation had been discussed. How much or in what way was not revealed.

Negro and labor leaders are demanding that Eisenhower fulfill his campaign promise to end segregation in Washington, D.C. This was the pledge Eisenhower made to cover his intimacy with the Dixiecrats and the nakedness of the GOP platform on FEPC. Washington was chosen by the Republican promisers because, in theory, federal action against Jim Crow there would not interfere with "states' rights."

In fact, however, northern reactionaries and southern white supremacists will oppose the end of segregation in Washington as strongly as anywhere else. **This means that unless great pressure is brought on Eisenhower his campaign promise will dwindle down to some token measure against Jim Crow in the nation's capital.**

Jewish Congress Weekly Hits Oaths Supports Kutcher

A strong editorial stand against the "loyalty" housing oath, with particular reference to the case of James Kutcher, was taken by the Jan. 19 Congress Weekly, official publication of the liberal American Jewish Congress. The text of the editorial, "Eviction of 'Subversives,'" is as follows:

* * *

More and more frequently these days, items in the press are so fantastic that we find ourselves rereading them several times to make certain that no one is perpetrating a hoax on us. One of these items was the recent report that housing authorities in several cities have taken action to comply with a new federal law enacted last July.

Under the law, members of "subversive" organizations are to be excluded from federal housing projects. The principal tenant of every apartment is required to certify that neither he nor any occupant of his apartment is a member of any goup which has been designated as subversive by the Attorney-General of the United States. Tenants who refuse to sign or commit fraud in signing are to be evicted. The list to be used in determining eligibility to live in a federal project is the Attorney-General's roster of 203 organizations.

The law is certain to be tested in the courts and there are innumerable grounds on which its constitutionality can be challenged. Membership in these organizations per se is made grounds for exclusion. But none of these organizations has ever had a hearing to determine whether it is in fact subversive. Membership in any of them has never been declared a crime. Fundamental issues of deprivation of liberty are involved.

STAGGERING IMPLICATIONS

Wholly apart from these issues, however, the law is almost incredible and its implications are staggering. What possible relationship there can be between the law and any legitimate public purpose is difficult to imagine. Will the fight against Communism, for example, be advanced one whit if Communists are evicted from a housing project and move around the corner or across the street?

Presumably, the law is based on the assumption that a "subversive" should not be permitted in any way to benefit from federal or tax-raised funds. He must therefore be denied the right to live in a federally-assisted project. The same reasoning would inexorably lead to denying any member of the 203 groups on the

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Eisenhower's Foreign Policy Headed Toward Another Global War

By Joseph Keller

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, former Wall Street corporation lawyer who is now the chief administrator of Eisenhower's foreign policy, on Jan. 17 issued his first major official policy statement. The statement sought to conceal American imperialism's aggressive advance all over the globe by repeated disavowals of any intent on Washington's part to "start a war" and by accusing the Soviet Union of attempting to "encircle" the United States.

DULLES

At the same time, Dulles indicated that the new administration, far from contemplating any speedy end to the Korean war, is considering ways and means of so waging war in Korea and Indo-China that it "will make the enemy . . . want peace."

He likewise reiterated the war gospel of "liberation" which Eisenhower enunciated so openly at an American Legion convention last summer but later modified verbally because of the sharp popular opposition it evoked here and abroad.

The Secretary of State cautiously refrained from using the actual word "liberation." But he spoke at length of the 800 million "captive" people "swallowed" by the "Russian Communist world." And he pointedly declared that "a great deal can be done" by the U.S. and its military allies to help counter-revolutionary forces inside the non-capitalist countries give "indigestion . . . so acute that it might be fatal" to the Soviet Union and the countries under its control or aligned with it.

HANDOUTS MIGHT STOP

Dulles laid special stress on the badly limping North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Army plan and what the Wall Street government expects from its West European pensioners.

He said it was the "present" hope that "Germany and France will join in a single European Defense Community" but that this idea, which has "bipartisan support" here, seems "somewhat stalled." He pointedly reminded the West European capitalists of the "big investment" of more than $30 billion Washington has made in their countries since the end of World War II. And he threatened that if they didn't get together and carry out the policies laid down for them by this country, the handouts might stop — "then certainly it would be necessary to give a little rethinking to America's own foreign policy in relation to Western Europe."

Dulles motivated his proposals for speeding up war preparations

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Real Reasons Behind Stalin's Latest Purge

By John G. Wright

The anti-Soviet press in this country and abroad is filled with far-fetched speculations about the underlying causes and aims of the current Soviet purge. The "explanations" range from guesses about a struggle for power among rival Soviet cliques to claims that the frame-ups and the purge signify preparations for World War III. Completely contradictory views are expressed. For example, the Social-Democratic **New Leader** solemnly warns that Stalin is ready to unleash an attack upon the West, hence the current purge. With equal solemnity the Jan. 28 **N. Y. Times** prints a dispatch from its European correspondent M. S. Handler that the liquidation is aimed at those who favor "an early war with the West."

But all these contradictory explanations have one thing in common: They seek to use the latest crimes of Stalin in order to discredit the struggle for socialism and in this way to promote the projected imperialist onslaught against the Soviet Union, the non-capitalist countries of Eastern Europe, revolutionary China and the insurgent colonial people.

Actually what the new purge underscores is the anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary character of Stalin's regime and of the Soviet bureaucracy he heads. This bureaucratic regime is in irrepressible conflict with the new social relations established inside the Soviet Union by the October Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917. Every extension of these new social relations, each success scored by planned economy on the basis of collectivized industry and agriculture, sharpens the antagonism between the privileged bureaucratic minority and the mass of the Soviet people, and deepens the conflict between the Kremlin rule and the vital needs of Soviet economy and Soviet society.

This basic contradiction governs the entire development of the Soviet Union. The political expressions, of this contradiction, first and foremost working class opposition to Stalin, have been muffled and distorted by savage police repressions. But repressions cannot eliminate the contradiction. Thus more and more repressions are needed to nourish and maintain a privileged minority inside the Soviet Union.

The new social relations in the USSR demand progressive elimination of inequalities, above all in the sphere of consumption. The Soviet bureaucracy rests on the new Soviet relations, its own fate is bound up with the survival of the nationalized land and the nationalized means of production, but, at the same time, it cannot survive unless it perpetuates inequalities. The Stalinist bureaucracy cannot escape from this contradiction.

It is impossible for any minority to defend its material privileges except by compulsion. This holds true under capitalism for the capitalist minority which plays an independent role in economic life but which could never retain its ruling role without bringing into play the coercive powers of its state machine. This applies with even greater force for the Soviet bureaucratic minority which plays no inde-

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ANTI-TRUCKS LAW FIGHT PUBLICIZED IN LABOR, CIVIL RIGHTS NEWSPAPERS

The Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law, composed of several hundred Michigan citizens prominent in labor, the academic world, the professions and other fields, is forging ahead in its campaign to arouse the public to the sinister provisions of Michigan's police-state Trucks Law. Many labor and other papers in Michigan and throughout the country have printed stories about or releases from the Citizens' Committee.

ADA World, national organ of the Americans for Democratic Action, in its Jan. issue announces that the Detroit Chapter of ADA has endorsed the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law and that A. L. Zwerdling, ADA National Board member, has joined the Committee. Another prominent figure who has joined the committee is Kathleen Lowrie, Secretary of the Detroit chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Labor Defender, paper of the Civil Rights Congress of Michigan, in its January issues carries a front-page story about the Citizens Committee entitled "Unite Against the Trucks Act." In another story on the status of the Communist Party's court fight against the Trucks Law, **Labor Defender** remarks: ". . . the failure of the Citizens' Committee to support the pending case (that of the Communist Party) before the Supreme Court undoubtedly weakens the fight to defeat the Trucks Act, which is the aim of the Committee."

The position of the Citizens' Committee on the case of the Communist Party is explained among other places in an article in the Jan. 22 **Searchlight**, newspaper of CIO United Auto Workers Chevrolet Local 659 in Flint, Mich. The article, a release of the Citizens Committee, points out that in the federal court decision on the case initiated by the Communist Party, both judges limited "their ruling to the constitutionality of the measure only in so far as it applied to the Communist Party. As a consequence of this narrow, restricted ruling, many aspects of the Trucks Act have yet to meet the legal test. These issues, we believe are posed four-square in the suit of the Socialist Workers Party. In lending our support to this court action against the Trucks Law, we imply no political support whatever to the Socialist Workers Party. We merely register our opposition to repressive measures against people with whose views we do not necessarily agree."

Labor's Daily, the only daily paper of the American labor movement, in its Jan. 23 issue printed a letter from Ernest Mazey, Temporary Secretary of the Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law. This letter congratulates **Labor's Daily** for its excellent editorial of December 27, 1952 on the Citizens' Committee and adds that editors of a number of papers in the Detroit area have indicated a desire to reprint the editorial.

Planned That Way

In Scranton, Pa., the D.L.&W. RR laid off its shop men. A week ago the U.S. Army gave a $43 million contract for artillery shells to a company which is taking over the D.L.& W. shops. Under the heading, "One Hand Washes the Other," the financial page of the Jan. 17 N. Y. Times comments: "Large-scale unemployment in this country never seems to have a chance of getting started." Thanks to Korea, maybe?

LABOR PARTY DEMAND STIRS ILL. CIO PARLEY

PEORIA, Ill., Jan. 20 — Despite the tight grip of Joseph Germano, state CIO president, and Duane (Pat) Greathouse, United Automobile Workers Regional Director, the Labor Party issue was very much in evidence at the state CIO convention held here over the week end.

Copies of a resolution advocating formation of a national Labor Party based on the trade unions were circulated among the delegates representing Illinois' 330,000 CIO members.

The resolution was brought to the convention by delegates of UAW Local 719, locomotive builders from General Motors Electro-Motive plants in La Grange and Chicago. Russell H. Williams, president of Local 719, was reported by the Jan. 16 Chicago **Daily News** as saying that this resolution was "the most important of those submitted by the local."

The resolution pointed out that "for labor to depend upon the employer-controlled Democratic and Republican parties to run the government is just as fatal to the welfare of the American people as it would be for the workers to depend upon the employers' organizations to run the unions."

It cited "the growing tendency against labor since 1946 within both major parties," pointed "to Korea, 'blood prosperity,' inflation, taxes and corruption" as the real product of the Democratic Party instead of Fair Deal promises and stated that this is what the people voted against in 1952, turning from "the evil of the Democratic Party to the evil of the Republican Party (because they had no party of their own)."

"In the interest of democracy," the resolution calls for labor to organize a Labor Party "so that the majority of the people, who work for wages, can have the representation in government to which they are entitled."

The resolutions committee under Chairman Greathouse, Reuther's spokesman in Illinois, failed to report out the Labor Party resolution. However, this did not prevent the issue from concerning the convention. Interest was heightened, if anything, by the bureaucratic tactics of the top union officers who buttonholed Local 719 delegates and laid down the law about national CIO policy.

As evidence of the sensitivity of the employers to the Labor Party issue, the capitalist Chicago **Daily News** rushed its first edition to Peoria before the convention was hardly organized. A story, featuring Local 719's resolution was headlined: **"Bid for Labor Party Splits Illinois CIO."**

Copies of this pro-company sheet flooded the convention hall and were used by the pork-chop staff members. Delegates were shown Germano's statement, prominently featured in the article, which repeated the old bromide that "CIO's national policy is against formation of a third party at this time."

Syngman Rhee--Washington's Bloody Little Puppet

By Art Preis

American imperialist propagandists have repeatedly come up against one particularly embarrassing obstacle in their attempts to sell U.S. intervention in the Korean civil war as another "defense of democracy." That obstacle is Syngman Rhee, president of South Korea. It has been hard to represent his regime, for which American boys are dying, as anything but a murderous dictatorship.

A renewed campaign has been launched to refurbish Rhee. Among the Rhee apologists are Dr. Robert T. Oliver, who designates himself "a close friend and counsellor of Syngman Rhee" for ten years, and the Social-Democratic **New Leader** magazine, which hails the whitewash of Rhee in Oliver's new book, **Verdict in Korea**. This 202-page pro-Rhee blurb is published by the Bald Eagle Press, State College, Pa., and sells for $4.

Oliver, currently Chairman of the Department of Speech at the Pennsylvania State College, in addition to books and pamphlets purporting to give the "inside" story on Korea, has written a number of works on "Effective Speech" and "Persuasive Speech." I suspect his position as "advisor" to Rhee has been largely that of a hired "public relations" man. At any rate, **Verdict in Korea** musters the publicity-agent, super-salesman techniques to glorify Rhee and defend his claims to rule Korea, both North and South.

Oliver undertakes to reveal the "evidences that democracy, even though lately and weakly implanted in Korea, has proved able to persist and indeed to advance" under Rhee, who is pictured as helping "to further the world-wide cause of democratic freedom." The author's task is to explain away certain well-known and odious facts about Rhee's regime. Among these are the methods Rhee used last summer to get himself "re-elected"; the bloody terror Rhee's troops, police and fascist-like Youth Corps have visited on the South Korean populace; and his mass jailings and executions of civilians, including women and children, after drumhead trials.

"GUERRILLA OUTBREAKS"

When the National Assembly refused to amend the South Korean Constitution in accordance with Rhee's ultimatum that the Assembly, hostile to him, abdicate its constitutional right to name the president, "Rhee proclaimed martial law, explaining as his reasons that guerrilla outbreaks . . . and growing demonstrations against the National Assembly made this action necessary." Oliver acknowledges. "He then ordered the arrest of one Assemblyman on a charge of murder and eventually of twelve more on a charge of accepting bribes to vote for a President who would favor a political coalition with the Communist north."

Rhee rounded up most of the legislators with his police and locked them in the Assembly hall. He forced them to continue him in the presidency and extend his term indefinitely until a new election could be held under his control. The June 30, 1952, **Voice of Korea**, published by the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, pointed out at the time that "guerrillas cannot exist long where the population is loyal to the government" and that "guerrilla activities have spread since Rhee came into power. . . Now he champions 'popular elections of the President,' which is soothing to American ears. Why? Since last December he has known the National Assembly would not reelect him because of its overwhelming opposition to his policies. But he knows his police and the Taehan Youth Corps would insure his victory in a 'popular election' with the same methods now being used against the Assembly."

RESORTED TO FORCE

Explaining how Rhee gets what Oliver calls "general public support," the **Voice of Korea** says that "when he has lacked spontaneous support, Dr. Rhee has resorted to force . . . attempted to show his 'popularity' through public demonstrations. . . His supporters in the police force and his private army of young brigands drove out school children and unwilling citizens to mass meetings and demonstrations, sometimes even by threat of withholding their ration cards." Writing from Pusan, Ruth Barrett has described the Taehan Youth Corps as "closely patterned on the Hitler Youth Movement" and "including 'youths' forty-five years old." (**The Reporter** magazine, Jan. 20, 1953).

In answer to charges of unspeakable treatment of civilians in prisons, Oliver tells of his visit to a prison in Pusan where 3,556 prisoners, including 229 women, were crowded into a building built for 800, but "this only paralleled the congestion in Pusan itself," blandly explains Oliver. **As a final cynical touch, he adds that "in one wing . . . were mothers who had their babies with them — a Korean custom which appears to be humane and beneficial to both mothers and the babies."**

Oliver brushes aside the substantially documented reports of mass executions. My files contain numerous accounts by American journalists of these summary mass executions which have gone on steadily all over South Korea. **Time** magazine described the slaughter after the recapture of Seoul: "Since Liberation of Seoul last September, South Korean firing squads have been busy liquidating 'enemies of the state'. . . With savage indifference, the military executioners shot men, women and children. . . While U.S. and British troops voiced their loathing of the wholesale slaughter, three American clergymen made a formal protest . . . they charged that many of the victims had no trials. . ."

Frederick Kuh, staff correspondent of the **Chicago Sun-Times**, gives an altogether different picture of Rhee's regime than the one painted by Rhee's "adviser" Oliver. In a series of six articles from Pusan, published during Christmas week, 1952, Kuh reported:

"South Korea is a police state. It is a land of fear. People are

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AUTO LOCAL PAPER TELLS NEED FOR LABOR'S OWN PARTY

Since the defeat of the Democratic Party which was backed by virtually the entire union bureaucracy, there has been considerable discussion among the rank and file about the election and what course should be taken in the future. Some of this is reflected in the union press in articles and editorials and in letters to the editor.

The Militant staff is closely following this development in order to keep our readers informed about it. From time to time we hope to reprint especially interesting items. The following article appeared in the January issue of **The 719 News**, publication of the Electro-Motive Diesel Workers Union Local 719, UAW-CIO. The author is Howard Mayhew.

* * *

Basically our great nation is composed of those who work for wages and those who **employ** labor (i.e., the owners). The many and the few. **Fortune** magazine, for example, at $1.25 per copy, definitely a big business publication, reported only last September — "fewer than 5% of the individuals in the U.S. own stock today."

The employers know so well how much they need a political party to serve them in the government that they own and control two of them. Both the Democratic and Republican parties, while they have their differences, stand for capital. For example, a majority of both Democratic and Republican congressmen voted for the Taft-Hartley Bill; Truman's appointment of C. E. Wilson, head of General Electric, to head the government's Wage Stabilization Board, etc., etc.

Both major parties never fail to claim that they represent **all** the people. **No party can do this.** A political party is an instrument either of the employers **or** the employees. Now can a party be both for war **and** for peace, for higher profits **and** higher wages, for higher prices **and** lower prices, for speed-up **and** against speed-up, all at the same time? The bosses gain in the first and the workers in the second set of these policies. These are only some examples which point up the opposite position of the bosses and the workers and it is fantastic to think that the bosses would contribute a dollar to a political party that would compromise their position one inch on these issues. The **Chicago Daily News** reported 150 millionaires at the Democratic convention last summer, of course the majority of the big money was at the Republican convention.

The PAC policy in the 1952 election is a dead-end street for labor, and no wonder. Why should the bosses permit their own political parties to be used to elect labor representatives to the government? They didn't organize their parties for us, they built them for themselves; they well understand their purpose to carry out their policies in the government and they would destroy their parties before they would let them fall into the hands of the unions. They often give the "nod" to labor "leaders" who are "safe" (for the bosses, that is) and put them into government posts as window-dressing to create the illusion of "fairness." Durkin's appointment as Secretary of Labor for Eisenhower is a good case in point.

The great lesson to be learned from the 1952 election is that Big Business has decided that the time has come to put an end to the "New Deal-Fair Deal" policy in government. Ended after 20 years, this policy had its beginning as a result of the economic and political crises Big Business faced in the Hoover depression of the 30's. Capital was on the spot, they knew it, and Roosevelt's New Deal policies at that time were just what the doctor ordered. Big Business supported Roosevelt in the beginning because they knew that reforms had to be made, they conceded a little to save everything. In a few years, after the big boys had regained some of their confidence they began to complain about how much these New Deal reforms were costing them. More and more of the big money boys then turned away from Roosevelt.

However from then until today "normal capitalist" prosperity has never been regained. The WPA, AAA, etc., "make-work" of the New Deal in a few years was dropped, employment levels dropping accordingly, until in '42 the New Deal was turned into the War Deal of the Second World War. In '52 the Republican party demagogically caught votes on the fact that the prosperity we have is a "blood prosperity" based upon an armaments production. The consequences of this leads to war.

We can only expect that the employers intend to use their Republican party's control of the government to greatly accelerate the trend against labor started in 1946. If the unions ever gained under the Democratic party, surely that day is over.

To continue PAC's past policy of supporting Democratic candidates can bring only further set-backs for labor today, because on all the **vital issues** confronting the working people, **the Democratic party is bound by the same policy dictated by Big Business for the Republican party.** There will be no Democratic politician who will stand up in Congress and speak up four-square for labor's interests in the coming greater conflicts between the unions and the owners.

Under these circumstances, labor's only course is to confront the employer's political parties with one of our own. We must turn **PAC into an organizing committee for a labor party.** The formation of labor's own party will be the next big accomplishment in America — the going will be increasingly rough for all working people until we have this defensive political instrument to represent us in the government.

Stalin's Frame-Up System and the Moscow Trials

By Leon Trotsky

The full text of Trotsky's masterful analysis of the Moscow Trials in his summation speech before the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry which investigated Stalin's frame-up charges. With an introduction by Joseph Hansen.

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Legless Vet Kutcher Addresses Newark Housing Oath Hearing

NEWARK, Jan. 28 — **The Mayor's Commission on Group Relations, Newark's municipal civil liberties unit, was asked last Thursday to urge the Newark Housing Authority to delay all eviction action against tenants who refuse to sign the so-called housing "loyalty" oath until its constitutionality has been tested and to give legal assistance to any tenant who wants to test it.**

The proposal was made by a member of the Commission, Joel Jacobson of the CIO. But action was tabled for three weeks to allow the other members to familiarize themselves with the Gwinn amendment, a measure passed by Congress last July to evict federal low-rent project tenants who refuse to swear they are not members of any group arbitrarily designated by the Attorney General as "subversive."

But it is questionable that the Newark Housing Authority will wait another three weeks before instituting eviction proceedings. Earlier the same day the NHA director announced that court action would soon be started against ten of the 12 families who have failed to sign the oath. (The other two notified him they would move Feb. 1 rather than sign.)

EXPLAINS CASE

The Mayor's Commission, before tabling action, listened to a number of people in the audience, including James Kutcher, the legless veteran and member of the Socialist Workers Party whose family faces eviction because his 73-year-old father cannot truthfully sign an oath that his son does not belong to any organization on the Attorney General's blacklist.

Kutcher spoke after two Communist Party members, also threatened with eviction, and the state secretary of the Civil Rights Congress had denounced the oath as discriminatory and unconstitutional. The veteran urged the Commission to join the fight against the oath, and explained that he planned to challenge it in the courts, with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union, because it infringed the civil liberties of all project tenants.

He also briefly reported his previous victimization by the Attorney General's list, describing his four-year fight to regain the Veterans Administration job from which he was purged in 1948 because of his socialist ideas and affiliations. Telling about the support he had received in this fight, he mentioned that the Communist Party had originally opposed support of his fight against the purge but was glad to report that the Stalinists changed their line on this question last October after a Circuit Court of Appeals ruled he had been improperly discharged. (Action on his demand for reinstatement to his job is still pending.)

After Kutcher sat down, the floor was taken by Charles Nusser, state secretary of the Communist Party, who told the Commission that his party supports Kutcher's fight against eviction despite its political differences with him.

LIVELY DISCUSSION

The housing oath continues to arouse discussion in the letters column of the **Newark News.** One reader explained, "I am not affected by the loyalty oath in any way other than my indignation at the loss of liberty it entails for all American citizens."

Another reader, strongly in favor of the oath, appealed to Harry L. Lawrence to "reconsider" and not let himself be "used" as an opponent of the oath, or "you cannot hope to be dealt with kindly." Lawrence is a teacher, who has already signed two "loyalty" oaths in the schools but is opposed to the housing oath on principle and will be represented by the ACLU in the coming court test.

Lawrence struck back courageously at this attempt to intimidate him. He denounced the "hearsay" list of the Attorney General and pointed out that "loyalty" oaths were one of the means to bring Germany under Nazi domination 20 years ago. He denied that he was being "used" by anything other "than my own conscience and my belief in due process of law rather than hysterical self-righteous patriotism."

Accept this oath, he said, and what is to prevent Gwinn or other witch hunters from passing "another amendment making the signing of a loyalty oath a prerequisite to the granting of a birth certificate to our new-born citizens? **I have refused loyalty only to hypocrisy, for I know that the surrender of political principles is the first tragic step in the surrender of political freedom. I want no part of either."**

CHALLENGE BY BREITMAN

There was also another development in connection with the literary debate in the **News** columns between George Breitman of the Socialist Workers Party and Peter F. Killeen, county commander of the Catholic War Veterans.

In a letter to the **News**, Breitman challenged Killeen to debate him "anywhere, anytime and under any auspices acceptable to you, provided only that the debate be open to the public and the press" on the subject: "Are Subversive Lists and Loyalty Oaths in the Interests of the U.S.?" When the letter was not printed, Breitman issued the same challenge to Killeen directly. This week he released the text of Killeen's reply ducking the debate.

"I shall have to decline to debate this question," Killeen wrote, "because I sincerely feel there can only be one answer to this question. Either a man is loyal or disloyal. If loyal he is to be commended as a good citizen; if disloyal, in peacetime, he should be deported; if disloyal, in wartime, he should be charged with treason. Naturally, feeling as I do, such strong convictions could only lead to personal recrimination; and our debate would degenerate into guerrilla warfare. Permit me to say in conclusion, you are on very thin ice in fighting the FBI. They are like the old horsefly, you can't fool them."

Pittsburgh Prison Revolt

Demanding prison reforms, inmates at Western State Penitentiary in Pittsburgh revolt to call attention to brutal conditions. Top: building where prison labor manufactures auto license plates is swept by flames. Bottom: some of the 700 armed police, called in to end the demonstration, enter building where 1,100 prisoners had seized five guards as hostages. Pittsburgh revolt is latest in a series of prison demonstrations throughout nation.

Syngman Rhee--Bloody Little Puppet

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afraid — not just of hunger, cold, war, disease but of each other, of the police and officials. The 64,000 state police have unlimited power of arrest, detention and torture and they use that power promiscuously. It is common for these so-called guardians of the law to give arrested persons a severe beating before questioning them, just to put them in a receptive frame of mind. . . **"We have under our protection a system with much resemblance to Nazism."**

LABOR CONDITIONS

On the treatment of labor — a subject Oliver does not see fit even to mention — Kuh reports that "Rhee is using methods toward labor similar to Fascist practices. Trade unions exist in name only . . . the South Korean Labor Federation has points of likeness to Hitler's labor front or Franco's. Spanish labor syndicates. Officials of Korea's so-called unions are elected only with the government's approval."

The **Sun-Times** correspondent quotes a confidential report by representatives of the United Nations' International Labor Office who state: "Workers organizations . . . originated as a government-sponsored body, designed solely to stamp out communism and for stimulating workers to greater efforts without pressing for wage increase. . . While prices continue to rise, wages are frozen and any unionists who press for wage increases would be likely to be arrested as Communist saboteours."

A UN table of average pay last June in 10 industries shows wages ranging from $9 to $54.50 — a month.

REAL ORIGIN

While claiming that the Korean war is being fought to "defend democracy" from "Russian aggression," Oliver inadvertently reveals that the real origin of the Korean conflicts is the class struggle of tenant farmers and workers, represented by the North Korean government, against the landlords, bankers and capitalists, defended by the South Korean rulers.

Oliver describes South Korean civilians seized by the North Korean forces as "not random casualties, but included 86,000 doctors, lawyers, teachers, bankers, artists, ministers and government officials" — in short, either members or supporters of the propertied class which exploits the Korean people. The blows of the North Korean and Chinese forces were obviously aimed at the class enemies of the poor peasants and workers.

Conversely, when Rhee sent his forces into North Korea following MacArthur's advance in the fall of 1950, the first "dramatic problem" he sought to grapple with, says Oliver, was: "How is an area liberated from Communist control to be re-integrated into the kind of society maintained in free enterprise democracies?" — that is, capitalist-ruled countries.

"Under the Communists most of the former propertied class had been either driven off, allowed to escape with empty hands, imprisoned or shot. Farmers had been made 'tenants of the State,' with no ownership of their lands, but also with no individual landlords. Privately owned factories had been confiscated, and by now . . . the specific ownership would be difficult to determine. . . Rhee's policy was forthright. He declared that former owners would be restored to their lands. Farm tenantry would thus be re-established. . ."

Oliver decries the "wave of denunciations" that greeted Rhee's restoration of the grasping landlords and claims Rhee intended ultimately to institute "a genuine land reform" through "the sale, on very easy terms, of landlord-held farm lands to their tenant occupants." The actual operation of Rhee's "land reform" in South Korea is not so rosy as Oliver depicts it. Kuh writes:

DUMMY PURCHASERS

"As the agrarian reform bill was before the Korean assembly, some landlords rushed to sell their holdings before government seizure. In this manner, 25.8 per cent of all land earmarked for distribution was simply dumped on the market. In some cases landowners sold to dummy purchasers and kept their ownership. The land was not given to the peasants, but sold to them. Payment over a five-year period is inflicting more hardship. Farmers often pay almost 20 per cent of their income in taxes and another 30 per cent toward land they acquired. That leaves them a pittance."

In addition to paying 50 per cent of their crops each year for five years for their land, the peasants are further preyed on by the government "which has been obtaining fertilizers from the U.S. at cheap rates and selling it to farmers at two to three times its value." In order to buy fertilizer and seed, the peasants are forced to obtain loans for which they are "paying 20 per cent interest each month to Korean private banks. In some instances the farmer has repaid the bank five or six times the amount of the original loan. As a result, some have been compelled to mortgage their next season's crops."

PROGRAM FOR "PEACE"

It would take a book twice as long as his own to fully expose the lies, half-truths and glaring omissions which Oliver needs to reach his main conclusion: It is necessary to support Rhee's demand for all-out war in Korea to place him in control of the whole country. Oliver presents what he calls a five-point "Package Deal for Peace." Its "basic element is a decisive defeat of the Communist aggression in Korea." If the Chinese "refuse to withdraw, all available force should be exercised to secure their withdrawal" even if it "might also mean fighting Russia."

Oliver's book begins with one of the greatest understatements of the decade: "Korea has not been one of our most popular wars." He admits that almost a "half-million Americans . . . have fought . . . without notable enthusiasm or conviction." His proposal to sacrifice more lives will not add to the popularity of either Oliver's book or what is actually the most unpopular war in American history.

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Housing Oath Denounced by AJC Weekly

(Continued from page 1)

Attorney-General's list any other benefit which comes directly or indirectly from public funds.

On the same grounds which permit the eviction of members of those organizations from housing projects, they should be permitted to starve by being denied unemployment relief. Their children should be kept ignorant by being excluded from public schools. They should not be allowed police protection, the services of the fire brigade, or the use of public highways. The theory is no different from the present law, and any of these applications is hardly less serious in its consequences than eviction from one's home.

A dramatic illustration of the application of the law is the case of James Kutcher of Newark. Kutcher is the legless war veteran who was dismissed from his job in the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and whose case is still pending. Kutcher lives with his aged father in a federal housing project. His father was unable to sign the oath that no occupant of the apartment belongs to any group on the Attorney-General's list. Under the law, the Kutchers, or at least the legless veteran, will be forced to move. Kutcher has announced that he will file suit in federal court.

We hope that the courts will retain the sanity which seems occasionally to abandon our legislators. Things are coming to a pretty pass when Americans who have been convicted of no crime can be evicted from their homes or may be forced, by application of the same theory, to go to the courts for permission to walk on a public thoroughfare.

Former Chicago policeman Alex Zielinski, 33, who quit his job after he was ordered to give parking tickets to paraplegic veterans and who charged that reports of widespread police corruption are true, was beaten up Jan. 20 in an alley by three men swinging rubber hoses and warned, "After this, don't talk."

The American Way of Life

Charles E. Wilson Makes Good

My heart beats a little quicker and I get a lump in my throat whenever I hear about a real true American who does the right thing. My heart's been pounding like an Ingersoll watch and I've almost choked on the lump in my throat since I read this morning how Charles E. Wilson bore out the trust and confidence Eisenhower placed in him.

Eisenhower asked Wilson to be his Secretary of Defense, a job which pays only $22,500 a year. As president of General Motors he got $566,200 before taxes last year. Wilson quit his old job at once and made out his application for the new one. The Senate Armed Services Committee interviewed him. The applicant proved to be a solid citizen — stock in a couple of banks, stock in a few Texas oil wells, stock in Greyhound Bus, a coal mine, a gas pipeline, General Motors — a nest egg worth altogether about $5½ million. Besides that, "I have a few government bonds. I've been buying $500 worth of government bonds a month for many years — ever since the program started."

And then a few odds and ends: . . . "two or three small farms that I am sort of fooling around with. . . I've also got some very fine cattle. . . And my son has a farm and some cattle also. I have a few miscellaneous small overrides, as they call them in Texas, that don't amount to much. I have a home in Bloomfield Hills and a small summer place on a lake in Michigan."

That $2½ million worth of General Motors stock stopped the Senators. General Motors has some $5 billion in government contracts already and the Secretary of Defense has final say on who gets the tens of billions of dollars worth of contracts still to come. The law says that a government official must have no connections with companies that stand to gain from his position. Was Wilson willing to make the supreme sacrifice and sell that GM stock at a loss?

That's where the drama began. Wilson's first reaction, it seems, was to tell these job interviewers to go to——. The papers began wondering if Wilson wouldn't have to be rejected. But he wrestled it out with his conscience. He told the Senators how his kids helped him. They said, "Don't worry about us any more; don't worry about money. If you work hard at GM for another two and a half years, you may leave us another hundred thousand apiece when you die, but we don't want that. We think you can do something down there."

And so Wilson decided to come clean and unload that stock even if it meant a loss of $500,000 on top of the $2 million loss of his GM salary the next four years.

The capitalist press got all wet-eyed over this supreme sacrifice. The **N.Y. Daily News** made a lead editorial out of it, "$2,500,000 Worth of Patriotism." And drawing the moral of it all, said "you can't put a money value on patriotism" but just the same that's not chicken feed. The **News** thought it's time we changed our laws so as not to penalize the rich who want to be patriotic and do their duty in a public office that involves government contracts.

The papers said a lot more nice things about Wilson but I'm too choked up to repeat it all. I just hope that GM won't forget the sacrifice Charles E. Wilson made; and, when he leaves office, rewards him the way Remington Rand rewarded MacArthur when the general completed his stint of patriotic duty.

— **Harry Ring**

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent **Kay Kean** reports a good sale of the Dec. 22 **Militant** in one of **Akron's** housing projects. "**Lou** and I went out for an hour today and sold one renewal subscription to **The Militant** and 14 single copies. We referred to the Eisenhower phrasemongering on Korea and the segregation question before the Supreme Court, both issues on page one. Lou spoke of our paper as the independent labor weekly, and that seemed to interest Akronites who are tired of reading the Republican propaganda put out by the one daily in town. My line was to sail right into Eisenhower and it sold!"

Helen Sherman reports good sales of **The Militant** and other literature during the recent holidays at the **Minneapolis** Labor Book Store. "A railroad fireman and a socialist friend of long-standing made special trips to renew their **Militant** subscriptions. We also got a very nice cash New Year's gift from the rail worker. Ten to 15 **Militants** were sold each week to workers and students who visit the only leftwing political center in Minneapolis. A particularly gratifying response to our Christmas letter, advertising books and pamphlets to **Militant** subscribers was from a University graduate student who has visited us several times to discuss and to buy a fine selection of Marxist literature.

"Along with the fine coverage of current news in **The Militant** we want to mention in particular the series of articles on 'America's Road to Socialism' by James P. Cannon. For stimulating thought and discussion and for arming a reader with solid political facts these articles can't be beat. Whenever **The Militant** carries a series of articles you always find a 'built-up' anticipation for the next issue. The Cannon series, today, is exactly what's needed."

Dan Roberts writes, "Here in **Seattle** one of our readers, an official in his union, liked the Cannon speech on 'America Under Eisenhower' so well that he bought 10 copies for distribution among his shopmates. Another friend of ours bought 15 copies for distribution of the issue containing an article on the New York longshore strike."

Nick Bennett reports continued good sales of all literature in **San Francisco.** "Last Thursday" he writes, "we took **Militants** and **leaflets** with a reprint of the Rosenberg editorial to the Rosenberg meeting here. On Friday we went to San Francisco State with the paper. Saturday **Frank B., G. Bailey, Frances James** and I sold **Militants** in the Fillmore district. On Sunday I sold seven pamphlets on the route along with **The Militant.** Monday we sold at San Francisco State; Tuesday the library; Wednesday the University of California in Berkeley; and Thursday another school. **George** continues his sales of 10 papers each week. **Jim O., Jackie, Ed. Harris, Ralph, Roberts, G. Bailey, Art** and others are doing renewal work."

"Here in **Chicago** we have started off the new year with renewed concentration on our **Militant** sales work," writes Literature Agent **Jacki Booth.** "Last week **Manny** and **Don** participated in street corner sales, **La Florva** sold at Roosevelt College, and **Ines** sold at the Electromotive plant. All extremely successful ventures. In addition **Manny, Irv** and **Marj** distributed a leaflet and sold papers at a recent rally held in the defense of the Rosenbergs. There were about 400 in attendance and we received a most favorable response."

Our sincere thanks to **S. R.** of **New York City** for his donation of $20 to help print **The Militant.**

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An Instructive Contrast

It's high time, we think, that the union movement turned to the fighting tradition of American socialism for some tips on practical politics.

For example, certain union bureaucrats are now making a shameful spectacle of themselves toadying up to Eisenhower, the candidate the bankers and big corporations put in the White House to do a job on labor and take the country into another world war. A couple of appointments was sufficient to dazzle top AFL officials and bring their CIO rivals running for similar tidbits.

Big Business observers, laughing at this ludicrous scramble for fish heads from the Republican banquet table, even indicate that by favoring the AFL, Eisenhower can drain away the sentiment for labor unity that appeared around election time and became quite widespread after his victory. The idea is to put the bureaucrats at loggerheads over winning a pat on the back from Eisenhower while Congress proceeds to sharpen the knife.

In welcome contrast to this depressing sight, the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party has entered the municipal elections to challenge the war plans of Big Business, and offer the voters of Los Angeles an opportunity to cast a ballot for peace and for socialism

As disillusionment spreads and grows deeper over Eisenhower's failure to fulfill his promise about bringing peace in Korea, the opportunity opens for labor candidates, opposing the war program and voicing the peace sentiments of GIs, their families and all who are sick of the senseless slaughter, to make a strong impression on the public mind. We are sure that the SWP candidates, Myra Tanner Weiss for mayor and Robert Morgan for Board of Education, will take full advantage of every opening to bring the anti-war message of socialism before the public.

The SWP platform stresses the need for labor to organize its own party. This plank will undoubtedly meet with sympathetic response from thinking workers who have been mulling over the bitter lesson of the 1952 election and the suicidal political course the top union bureaucracy has been following. Many workers will surely note the immense contrast between the forthright, militant opposition to Eisenhower's anti-labor program exemplified in the Los Angeles SWP campaign and the crawling, tail-between-legs attitude of the Meanys, Durkins, and the rest.

To stem and turn back the political war of Big Business against labor it is necessary to stand up and fight. We offer the challenge of the SWP in Los Angeles as an example of what the unions with their mighty power should be doing to effectively defend their own interests on the political front.

New Voices Against the Witch-Hunt

The Senate Appropriations Committee has doubled McCarthy's investigating funds. The House Un-American Activities Committee has announced that it will need more than the $285,000 it spent last year and that its staff of 50 is too small. Most state legislatures plan one or more witch-hunts in the coming year. Every unscrupulous politician and political thug senses that the quickest way to fame and fortune is via a witch-hunt.

There is danger that in the coming year Senate investigators, House investigators, FBI men, CIA men, Army, Navy, Air Force Intelligence, State legislators, school boards, private investigators, etc., ad nauseam, will be tripping over one another in a feverish hunt for Communists, "Communist thinkers," or any critic of capitalism. In this whirling hysteria, civil liberties in the United States may well disappear.

Fortunately, not everyone has been intimidated by the "loyalty" testers and smearbund. To those voices that have been raised against the witch-hunt new voices are being added. Thus, in Oregon the Veterans Legislative Committee — representing the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, Military Order of the Purple Heart and the Spanish-American War Veterans — has come out unexpectedly and firmly against a proposed teachers "loyalty" oath and investigation of the schools.

The Massachusetts Council of Churches, which has 2,000 affiliated congregations, has begun a campaign to combat "Fear — fear to express one's self freely or to become associated with individuals, ideas or organizations that might prove embarrassing, to take a stand on controversial issues, to sign a petition, to do anything outside the pattern of conformity."

In his farewell report to Harvard University, President James B. Conant, referred to the threat of Congressional investigations of education and declared: "It would be a sad day for the United States if the tradition of dissent were driven out of the universities."

Yet there is a fatal flaw in the arguments of Conant and many others who are now alarmed at the expansion of the witch-hunt. Out of blindness or fear, they say, "We don't object to the purge of Communists; but don't persecute liberals or people with non-conformist ideas." This is like saying that gangrene in one's foot may remain undisturbed where it is as long as it doesn't spread.

There can't be civil liberties for some. There have to be civil liberties for all or soon all critics and dissenters will be silenced. Liberals and labor leaders should realize this and defend the right of the Communist Party and other organizations on the Attorney General's illegal blacklist to exist and function. If liberals and labor do not do so they will pay by falling victim in their turn to the McCarthys and their fellow builders of a police state.

Drug Menace to GIs in Korea

A shocking report has come out of Korea about the growth of drug addiction among American GIs. The Jan. 18 **Los Angeles Sunday News** published a sensational story that "thousands of American GIs, trained to kill in the grisly guerrilla warfare of the Korean hills, are coming home hag-ridden by heroin addiction and turning to crime to support their habits."

According to the **Sunday News**, a large Korean dope ring, operating with hundreds of peddlers and pushers around the Pusan area, is selling "95 per cent pure heroin to troops with the connivance of South Korean enforcement agencies."

Information on the spread of drug addiction among U.S. troops was given by "Los Angeles detectives, recently returned from Counter-Intelligence assignments in Korea and sick at the prospect of widespread, incurable addiction to the dread drug. . . "

Addicted GIs sent back for treatment said GI pushers who persuaded them to take the first shot "on the house" had "told them it would make the bitter cold and numbing terror of the war front more bearable." One officer said "the percentage of addicts at the front is 'terrifically high.'"

The **News** story adds that its informants said that Army officials "are masking the extent of addiction in official reports which are carefully worded to keep the truth from the public at home."

This suppression of the facts about dope addiction among American soldiers, if the **News** story is anywhere close to the truth, contrasts with the widespread circulation of U.S. command propaganda about the bravery of the Chinese and North Korean troops being due to the use of "drugs." Recently, United Press staff writer Fred Painton wrote from the Eighth Army Headquarters in Korea that the stories about Chinese troops being doped before attack have no foundation.

Both GIs and officers wonder about the "indifference to pain and death" of the Chinese soldiers and why they "charge in waves — often laughing — and saunter in front of allied troops who are shooting them down." The answer an Army source gave is that "the average Chinese Communist is a stolid peasant type, with an Oriental view toward life and death."

These "stolid peasant types," however, seem to respond very strongly to political appeals. The same Army source "said Communist political officers can easily 'work them up into a mob.' There is no evidence, he said, that the Red infantryman is doped up for the attack."

Could it be that the Chinese soldiers fight with such apparently reckless bravery and indifference to death because they believe they are fighting for national independence and a new way of life against foreign imperialism? And are GIs easy prey for dope-pushers because they believe it's wrong to be in Korea and thus have no faith to sustain them in the face of suffering and imminent death?

Stalinists Oppose Nationalization in India

Recently in the UN's Economic and Financial Committee, a resolution pushed by Bolivia and Iran affirming the right of any nation to nationalize its resources was approved by a vote of 31. There were 19 abstentions. Only one voted against the resolution — the United States.

This should indicate how strong the tide is for nationalization throughout the world and how reactionary the U.S. stand was. All the stranger then is the fact that the Wall Street view on nationalization has been echoed in Madras, India, by a leading "Communist."

In this important city of the great sub-continent, now stirring with unrest, the Stalinists openly oppose nationalization. Their purpose, no doubt, is to sway the Indian capitalist class, now neutral in the cold war, to the side of the Kremlin.

The facts can be gathered from the following verbatim extracts of a speech made in the Madras legislature by S. C. C. Anthony Pillaian, orthodox Marxist leader of the Indian Socialist Party, in distinguishing his position from that of Mr. Ramamurthy, leader of the Stalinist opposition, on a tax measure affecting bus transportation. It is reprinted from the Jan. 8 **Samasamajist** of Ceylon.

TEXT OF SPEECH

Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is necessary for me on behalf of my party to draw a clear line of distinction between the opposition of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ramamurthy and our opposition. There are two types of opposition, I notice, in regard to this taxation measure. One is the opposition which stems ultimately or rather directly from the bus operators. There is the other type of opposition, which is the oppositon from the poor passengers, who resent any increase in the burden of taxation.

I am glad, Sir, that the Hon. the Chief Minister should have provoked Mr. Ramamurthy to a very clear statement of his party's policy that it advocates in the Assembly. Perhaps the reason for the clarity is his recent visit to Berlin, and his proximity to the 19th Congress of the Russian Communist Party which have clarified his mind with regard to the policy which his party is advocating today.

He quoted at some length the **Communist Manifesto** to the effect that a Government hurls the charge of "communism" at every opposition to it. But the quotation further states that the opposition not infrequently hurls back the charge of "communism" to the other side. In this case, what in effect is the statement he has made? In effect he states, "I am not advocating a policy of communism."

DEFENDS CAPITALISTS

He defends the bus operators against what he characterized as a rapacious, avaricious, communistic attempt of the Ministry in seeking to take some portion of the exorbitant profits that they are making, and he went on to say that his party does not stand for nationalization of capitalist property.

The Congress Party, at least during the elections, stated in its manifesto that it stands for nationalization of the bus transport services. But Mr. Ramamurthy, the representative of the Communist Party, says that his party, despite the label of "communism," does not stand for nationalization of industry, or the means of exchange or transport in the State of Madras.

To that extent, Sir, it must be admitted that the Congress, though in a halting way, is proceeding with the nationalization of bus transport services. In Madras City — there is the Government City Bus Transport Service and in the Bombay State also, the Congress Government has nationalized a goodly portion of motor transport. **Therefore, at least as far as nationalization of bus transport services is concerned, surprising as it may seem, the Congress is to the left of the Communist Party.**

In regard to his role, namely of being a defender of capitalist property, I think it is not new. Let me remind you, Sir, of the masterly silence maintained by the leaders of the Communist Party when the Death Duties Bill was discussed in the House of the People. On that occasion they did not have the courage to come forward and support the vested interests in their opposition to that measure. As I said earlier, the recent visit of Mr. Ramamurthy to Berlin has clarified his ideas and now he does not flinch from openly and shamelessly defending the interests of the capitalists on the floor of the Assembly. I am glad that he has come forward with a clear statement that he stands for vested interests.

Sir, it has been the fate of every social reformer to see his doctrine vulgarized and perverted by his alleged disciples. That is why on a celebrated occasion Calvin confessed that he was no Calvinist. **If Marx in his grave should hear Mr. Ramamurthy declaiming in his name that capitalist property should not be nationalized, he too may repeat: "But I am not a Marxist."**

The members of the Communist Party say that they do not stand for nationalization. Why do they say now that they do not stand for nationalization of industries, of the means of exchange and of communication? They say that India is not ripe for socialism, ripe for nationalization.

I want to ask the members of the Communist Party whether India today is economically less backward than Russia in 1917? If Russia in 1917 was ripe for the socialist overturn, well, I submit that India today is ripe for the socialist overturn.

Let me remind my Communist friends that in January 1948 at their Calcutta Conference they came to the conclusion that India was not only ripe objectively for the socialist overturn, but was also ripe subjectively for it, and they called for an insurrection. What has happened to the Telengana martyrs?

Mr. Speaker: Let the Hon. Member confine his remarks to the Bill.

Srj. S. C. C. Anthony Pillai: Are they going to apologize to the relatives of the Telengana martyrs that the policy which they adopted in January 1948 was a policy of adventurism? Are they going to say that their policy was wrong and that today they are trying to rehabilitate themselves in capitalist society?

Every pleader of reaction has always tried to pretend that his policy is in the interests of the people and that he is defending public interests against the attempts of the Government to subvert them.

FAVORS PROFITEERING

I am surprised to hear Mr. Ramamurthy say that if this Bill is passed into law it will mean cutting down of the wages of workers, retrenchment of staff and cancellation of bonuses, because the Bill according to him reduces the profits of the bus operators which are said to be low.

This plea that bus operators are not making enough profits is the greatest disservice to the working class. His speech in the Assembly will be quoted by every bus operator before industrial tribunals when the workers claim higher wages or increased bonuses.

(Here the speaker cited figures showing the exorbitant profits of the bus owners and again stressed that Ramamurthy, the Stalinist leader, opposed the bill in behalf of the capitalists while the socialists opposed it in behalf of the passengers because the proposed tax might be passed on as a fare increase.)

If the Government gives an assurance that as a result of this measure, the rates will not be increased and that, if increased, they are ready to come forward with an ordinance freezing the passenger fares at the rates prevailing at the time of the introduction of this Bill, my party is ready to support this measure. **We are not opposed to taxation of the rich; we are ready to support such taxation.**

(The speaker then criticized the Congress Party for not extending the nationalization of the bus transport service throughout the state of Madras as well as in the city where it has already been carried out. He said that if the Bill under discussion were only a temporary measure intended to make up a deficit in the budget and if the government would give assurances of carrying out its announced policy of nationalization as expeditiously as possible, "we on this side of the House are ready to give our support to this measure.")

Nazis Arrested by British

British authorities in Germany have announced the arrest of seven former Nazi bigshots on charges of plotting to overthrow the German federal government. Shown as they appeared during Hitler regime are two of those arrested: Dr. Gustav Scheel (r.) and Dr. Werner Naumann. Many German newspapers have rumored that the arrests are part of a British "plot" to prevent the re-emergence of Germany as a first-class power.

Real Reasons Behind Stalin's Latest Purge

(Continued from page 1)

pendent role whatever in Soviet economy but is a parasitic formation that devours a disproportionate share of the national income. Hence its insatiable need for compulsion, for "strengthening the state," that is, for ever greater repressions. Hence, too, the "technique" of frame-ups and of the past and current purges.

The bureaucracy arose in the Soviet Union thirty years ago amid universal scarcities and cultural backwardness in an overwhelmingly agricultural country. It was relatively easy for the bureaucracy to cover up its parasitic nature under these conditions. Amid destitution, an "umpire" appears as a socially necessary force. The Soviet bureaucracy arrogated to itself this role of umpire, dividing up the meager rations while, naturally, allotting itself the lion's share.

With the transformation of the Soviet Union from a backward, agricultural country into a first-rate industrial power, second only to the U.S., the parasitic role of the Soviet bureaucracy appears more and more glaringly, its privileged position and dictatorial rule grow more and more incompatible with the needs of the rest of the population. Opposition moods and trends tend to revive.

All this was expressed in a muted way at the 19th Congress of the Russian Communist Party. It was clearest in the repeated demand to "strengthen the state." It was more fully spelled out at the recent 29th anniversary of Lenin's death when Mikhailov, the new secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian party, demanded a "stronger" state, especially the strengthening of "the security organs of the Soviet state."

Involuntarily enough, Mikhailov singled out the Soviet successes and the "immeasurable progress" in the postwar period as highly dangerous to the regime. Mikhailov put it this way: "Among many insufficiently mature comrades, these successes engender a feeling of complacency and carelessness, a blunting of their political vigilance." And he added,

"The greater the successes of Communist construction the more perfidious, vile and brutal are the methods and means of struggle by our enemies. The more successful our progress, the sharper will be the struggle by the enemies of our people who are doomed to inevitable destruction."

So stifling is the bureaucratic rule that Stalin himself has had to promise that the state will gradually relax its stranglehold once the "transition to communism" is finally achieved. But meanwhile the sharpest attack is reserved for the nameless advocates inside the Soviet Union "of the counter-revolutionary theory that the class struggle is subsiding and that state power is to be relaxed."

All those who favor the slightest relaxation of state power "are either degenerates or double-dealers and must be driven from the party," Mikhailov said, citing Stalin. This hardly requires comment.

The bureaucratic regime, Great-Russian in its narrow, nationalistic outlook, weighs the most heavily upon the various national minorities, including the populations in the East European countries. Hence the revived stress on "bourgeois nationalism," and in particular the resort by the Kremlin to anti-Semitism.

Stalin is in dire need of some half-way plausible explanation of why highly placed figures in his own circle should choose to serve as "spies," "wreckers" "murderers," etc., in the service of imperialism — and this, in the very midst of undeniable Soviet successes, in the very midst of the alleged "building of communism"!

The Stalinist bureaucracy offers such a popular "explanation" by playing on national and racial prejudices. "They did it because they are — Jews!" This is deliberately aimed at the most primitive minds in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Once this gains credence, it will be easier to press attacks on other "bourgeois nationalists" — allegedly in cahoots with the Jews and through them with American imperialism.

To obtain a clear picture of what is taking place in the Soviet Union, one need only paraphrase the statement of Mikhailov cited above: **"The greater the successes of Soviet construction the more perfidious, vile and brutal are the methods and means of struggle employed by Stalin to defend, nourish and maintain the privileged position of the bureaucracy he heads."**

All-Quebec Strike Threat Withdrawn By CCCL Leaders

By Peter Farnsworth

TORONTO, Jan. 19 — The threat of a general strike by 90,000 workers in the Quebec Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor was withdrawn today by the CCCL leaders. The action had been planned to protest a campaign of provincial police terror against Louiseville textile workers which culminated last Dec. 11 in the shooting of one striker, arrest of a score of others, police occupation of union headquarters and reading of the Riot Act which clamped police rule on Louiseville, a town 60 miles outside of Montreal.

In explaining their decision to cancel the strike plans, CCCL leaders referred to Premier Duplessis' red-baiting blast in the provincial legislature on Jan. 14. Duplessis, who is also Attorney General and the father of the notorious Padlock Law, attacked the general strike threat as "a call to generalized crime." He charged the Syndicates, in whose councils Roman Catholic priests play an important role, with "following the program and adopting the Communist tactics. . ."

A CCCL statement complained that Duplessis' intervention on behalf of Associated Textiles Ltd., the wholly U. S.-owned subsidiary struck at Louiseville, would "oblige the CCCL to engage against its will in a purely political strike" having the "character of a fight to a finish between the union movement and the provincial government." No inkling is given in this statement as to where Quebec labor, above all the harassed Louiseville strikers, in a deadlock for 10 months now, are to go from here.

Following the Dec. 11 terror at Louiseville, aroused workers in all key industrial communities had called for a general strike in defiance of Duplessis. Finally on Dec. 22 an emergency meeting of 225 delegates in Quebec City sanctioned the demand. But the CCCL leaders were looking for a pretext not to call the general strike and they stalled with various excuses. The company has broken off all negotiations with the union, which since 1945 brought average wages up from 37 cents to 73½ cents an hour when the Louiseville strike began.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

A NEW BRAZILIAN labor paper, **Frente Operaria** (Workers Front), has appeared in Sao Paulo, the principal industrial city. An article urges a united front of all labor and left-wing groups against the bosses' "National Front." Other articles discuss the expulsion of a Brazilian Stalinist leader from the Communist Party, the Tillon-Marty case in France, the election campaign of the Ceylonese Trotskyists, the military pact imposed on Brazil by the U.S., perspectives of the Bolivian revolution and working conditions in local plants owned by U.S. capital.

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WASHINGTON'S REASONS for buying nationalized tin from Bolivia is "to shore up the tottering regime of Paz Estenssoro," according to the Jan. 30 **U.S. News and World Report.** "U.S. bargaining position is maintained since little tin (5,000 tons) is being bought. Bolivia will soon have to sell more tin to get more dollars. . . Another revolution, throwing Paz out, will only make things more difficult. Paz isn't exactly a right-winger. But a successor might well be a Communist."

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GUATEMALAN farm workers are taking administration of the agrarian reform law into their own hands following the recent election victory over reactionary elements and are seizing and occupying privately owned lands. This action follows the prolonged delay of the previous government in enforcing the law. When armed peasants began occupying East Guatemalan ranches Jan. 19, neither land owners nor their managers offered resistance, according to the Jan. 26 **N.Y. Times**

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CHARLES TILLON, French partisan organizer in World War II, resigned as mayor of Aubervilliers, a Paris suburb. This indicates he will no longer play a leading role in the Communist Party. Together with Andre Marty, he was accused of "deviations." Marty did not recant as was demanded and was recently expelled. It is not yet clear whether Tillon will recant.

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THE EAST GERMAN Stalinists' Central Committee proposed Jan. 25 that the entire supply network in East Germany be nationalized into a state corporation, an act that would signal the end of private enterprise in the Soviet zone.

IN BUDAPEST, Hungary, the Stalinists executed Imre Molnar, a railway worker, Dec. 29. Molnar was accused of having caused a railway crash Dec. 26. He was executed before any serious investigation into the causes of the accident could possibly have taken place.

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SOUTH KOREAN soldiers receive a monthly pay of 3,000 Won. This is just enough for one haircut. A captain gets about $5 a month. Three times a day the soldiers are fed rice soup and pickles. Because of the poor diet they suffer from night blindness and are infected with worms, reports a neutral European war correspondent.

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INDIA'S relations with the U.S. have sharply deteriorated in recent weeks, says the New Delhi correspondent of the **N. Y. Times.** "Any apparent attempt to sway the New Delhi Government from the delicate path (of nonalignment with either the U.S. or the Soviet Union) is truculently resented throughout the country." Possible appointment of a strong-arm ambassador by Eisenhower is said to be the source of New Delhi's latest resentment.

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JAPAN'S unfavorable trade balance in 1952 was published Jan. 19 by the Japanese Finance Ministry. Japan sold 6.2% less goods abroad than in 1951 and cut her foreign currency imports by only 1%. If the Korean war came to a sudden end, or if American purchasing diminished for other reasons, Japan would swiftly face an economic crisis.

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EGYPTIAN DICTATOR Gen. Naguib, after abolishing political parties and setting up a monolithic "Liberation Society," appealed for "unity, discipline, and work" in a broadcast Jan. 26. He pledged to sacrifice his life, if necessary, "to liberate the Nile Valley from all foreign soldiers," a reference to British troops. The government announced the same day that the majority of Egyptian labor unions have "decided to dissolve themselves and merge with the Liberation Society."

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THE FRENCH Merchant Marine Ministry asked the French Foreign Ministry Jan. 16 to protest to the U.S. against Rep. Francis E. Walter's remark about French sailors being "throat-slitters."

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

Stalinist Anti-Semitism

By Jean Blake

For the next few weeks this column will discuss the Stalinist anti-Semitic purges now taking place in Europe, and their significance for Negroes. Our readers are invited to send their questions or opinions to **The Militant.**

Purges and frame-up trials in the Soviet Union and in other areas dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy are not new. Most of you are familiar, more or less, with the whole series of purges by which Stalin eliminated critics or opponents of his bureaucratic regime. The notorious Moscow frame-up trials of the Thirties in which Stalin "liquidated" or exiled the old leaders of the Russian Revolution of 1917 set the pattern for the fantastic frame-up trials too numerous to mention here, which followed.

The features which characterized those purges, as well as those taking place today, were the incredible, framed-up charges against the defendants, the mockery of a fair trial, in which the main evidence is a "confession," and the denial to the accused of all the civil rights aimed at providing equal justice before the law.

The new angle in the current Stalinist purges which many people find so shocking is their clearly anti-Semitic character. This is seen both in the charges against the accused, and in the methods used by the Stalinist police to round up their victims.

No colored American who is familiar with the way newspapers, officials, and employers use the label, "Negro," in crime reports, job applications, school applications, etc., needs to be told the significance of the official Stalinist designation of Russian doctors or of Communist officials who have spent most of their adult life in the Communist Party as "Jews."

Particularly to apply that designation to people who long ago gave up all ties with the Jewish religion — if they ever had any — can have only one purpose: to capitalize on backward anti-Semitic prejudices and to condemn the accused in advance of trial as Zionists, the stated targets of this purge, through the McCarthyite device of "guilt by association."

Hitler gave our generation a horrible example of what it means to unleash and exploit prejudice as a political weapon. Negroes had no difficulty in understanding its danger to them despite the fact that it was not aimed primarily at them. They understood it because of their own experience with the white supremacists in America and in Africa for many generations.

Now the Stalinists are using anti-Semitism, and many people are confused by it. They are asking questions like these:

Why is the Soviet government anti-Jewish? Anti-Zionist? Is the Soviet Union merely protecting itself against American imperialism? Is it supporting the struggle of colored Africans against all allies of the colonial powers, including the government of Israel?

If Stalinists can be anti-Jewish, could they be anti-Negro too?

And finally, if a workers' state like the Soviet Union can tolerate and foster oppression of a minority group, is the struggle against capitalism the road for the Negro struggle against discrimination?

These are some of the questions we shall discuss in this column. Let's have your thoughts on the subject.

"Teen-Age Killers"

By Joyce Cowley

"Teen-Age Killers" — that's the title of the lead article in **Look** magazine this week. "Many of them are from good families. Why do they go wrong, join gangs and wind up in prison or on a morgue slab?" asks **Look.**

I read the article carefully without finding an answer. Like other experts on juvenile delinquency, they avoid discussing its most obvious causes. Responsibility is placed on teachers and parents who "do not recognize in time the symptoms of gangsters in the making." They explain the case of a 19-year-old murderer by saying it's all the result of rheumatic fever he had at 12. This kept him out of high school sports and since he had "nothing to do" he got "caught up with kid gangsters, their gang girls, their saps and knives, brass knuckles and guns."

This explanation doesn't explain very much. Not all rheumatic fever victims become murderers and judging from the sensational character of the basketball scandal, sports do not always prevent crime.

Most reports on delinquency blame the parents. It's up to them to provide the secure home environment and emotional stability that youngsters need. You never learn just how parents, whose own lives are deeply disturbed by a world in conflict, can achieve such stability.

The psychiatric, social-service approach looks at each case in terms of personal maladjustment. But how can any sane youth make a happy adjustment to a completely abnormal life? They take a kid who's learning to shave, separate him from his family and his girl friend, put him through the grueling regimentation of army training and ship him off to Korea to fight and possibly die in a conflict whose purpose is completely obscure to him. And they want him to like it, too; to be "adjusted," as they say.

If all this does drive him to drugs or crime, he won't get much sympathy. While **Look** calls for "understanding and education" in dealing with young criminals, they admit that what is being used is the policeman's club. Judge Samuel Leibowitz, handing out 20-years-to-life sentences for two teen-age killers, condemned "coddling" and called for a new approach to the "vicious, depraved, heartless, cruel and cunning type of young criminal."

This is an even simpler approach than blaming the parents. Blame the kids! How can you deal with them? That's easy! Put them in jail and keep them there. That will cure them.

I think **Look** inadvertently gives us a clue to a more rational approach. In their concluding paragraph they say: "Consider the cost of juvenile crime in dollars and cents. Your government spends around $4.87 to combat delinquency for every dollar it spends on education."

I can't help wondering how things would turn out if we reversed this. Suppose the $4.87 was spent on education — on schools, playgrounds, parks and recreation?

Notes from the News

AARON COPLAND, one of America's outstanding composers, has become one of the latest targets of the witch-hunters. Among Copland's symphonic compositions are the well-known "Rodeo," "Billy the Kid," "Applachian Suite" and "Lincoln Portrait." Rep. Fred E. Busbey (R, Ill.) objected to the orchestra playing "Lincoln Portrait" at the Eisenhower Inaugural Concert of the National Symphony on grounds that Copland's name was associated with Communist-front organizations. The performance was cancelled at once before any investigation was made. In his latest book **Music and Imagination,** Copland attacks communism.

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HOWARD HUGHES, board chairman of RKO-Radio Pictures Corp. and a leading stockholder in the RKO Theatres Corp., announced he is "making a most concerted effort" to get the management of the theatre corporation "to cancel all bookings of 'Limelight'," the latest Charlie Chaplin picture. He wrote this to an American Legion official in Hollywod after the Legion's national executive committee urged that the picture not be released pending Dept. of Justice action on a move to bar Chaplin, who is on foreign tour, from re-entry into the United States. "Limelight," is entirely non-political. Hughes complained in his letter that he cannot act himself because he has been barred from holding a controlling position in the theatre corporation under the anti-trust laws.

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A BOARD OF CENSORS, set up by a city ordinance in St. Cloud, Minn., three years ago, has banned more than 300 books and periodicals from sale, display or distribution. Among the titles on the "verboten" list, according to the Jan. 24 **Nation,** are "Of Human Bondage" and "Cakes and Ale" by Somerset Maugham, "Sanctuary" by William Faulkner, "Tobacco Road" by Erskine Caldwell, the "Studs Lonigan" trilogy by James T. Farrell, "Scottsboro Boy" by Heywood Patterson, "What Makes Sammy Run" by Budd Schulberg, "Black Boy" and "Native Son" by Richard Wright, and "The Gallery" by John Horne Burns. The censorship operates by pressure on dealers. So far, no legal enforcement has been attempted, perhaps because the courts would rule the ordinance unconstitutional.

* * *

UNIONS END JIM CROW. For the first time in 70 years the 215,000 member Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has accepted a Negro for membership. He is N. C. James, a dining car steward on the Pennsylvania RR and now a member of Lodge 162. It is expected that similar actions will be taken by BRT lodges throughout the country. In Los Angeles the All-Negro AFL Musicians Local 767 and all-white Local 47 have merged.

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NEGOTIATIONS FOR MERGER of the Socialist Party, Social-Democratic Federation and the Jewish Socialist Verband are reported in the socialist **Reading Labor Advocate,** which adds: "The Independent Socialist League (Shachtmanites), somewhat to the left of those engaged in current negotiations, will probably remain independent, either through choice, or because they have not been invited."

* * *

THE VIRGINIA CIO convention passed an anti-discrimination resolution which included an appeal to the federal government to withhold school funds from states where school segregation is practised. The resolution also called for FEPC, outlawing segregation on public transportation and in places of public assembly, an anti-mask wearing law against the Ku Kluxers, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation.

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TYPICAL. Harvey Matusow, professional ex-Communist whom the government has used extensively in its persecution of the Stalinists recently charged that the Sunday edition of the **New York Times** alone had "126 dues-paying Communists." The Alsops, Washington columnists, revealed that the entire staff of the Sunday section of the **Times** numbers only 87, including two part-time office boys.

Cannon Foretells Socialist Future Of United States

By Ernest Rief

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 24 — Last night the largest and most enthusiastic audience yet to attend the Friday Night Forum greeted the final lecture of the series, "America's Road to Socialism," given by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Speaking on "How America Will Look Under Socialism," Cannon traced the broad outlines of probable future development. On the basis of increased labor productivity all people will have plenty to satisfy their wants and leisure to develop their talents and interests.

Incentives and ambition will turn toward the recognition that comes from great social achievements, the conquering of disease, the unlocking of the secrets of the universe for the benefit, not the destruction, of mankind.

"The glory that was Greece" touched the highest peaks of art the human race has yet known, but this was accomplished by a few at the expense of enslavement for the many. "Socialist society will stand immeasurably higher than that of Greece, even in its Golden Age. Machines will be the slaves, and all men will be artists, students, builders and creators, as well as workers."

To fight for such a future for society, Cannon concluded, is the highest privilege today, for "no matter what our personal fate may be, the cause for which we struggle is invincible."

Minn. Students Ask Clemency For Rosenbergs

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 9—Some 70 University of Minnesota students attended a protest meeting yesterday against the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The meeting, sponsored by the University Socialist club, heard two faculty members, Mark Harris and Mulford Sibley, and Fred Ptashne, a member of the national Rosenberg defense committee.

A letter of atomic scientist Dr. Harold C. Urey protesting the sentence was read as well as a letter from Vincent R. Dunne, famed Minnesota labor leader who was one of the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act. Dunne, writing in behalf of the Socialist Workers Party in the Twin Cities, condemned the Rosenberg death sentence and called for presidential clemency.

A telegram expressing the sentiments of the gathering was circulated and then sent to the White House.

Income Tax Up 2,672%

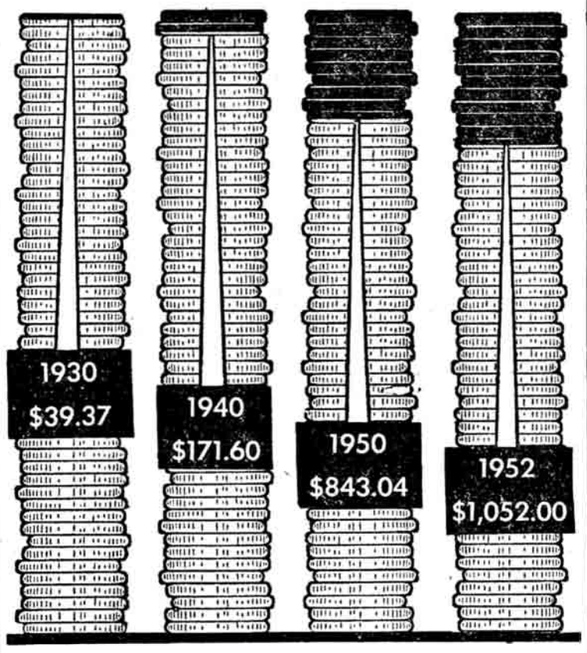

Chart shows how tax on $5,000 annual income for a single person, no dependents, has risen from $39.37 in 1930 to $1,052 last year, a rise of 2,672%. Each column represents $5,000, black areas indicating amount of tax.

NAACP OFFICIAL'S LIFE THREATENED BY KU KLUX

Ku Klux elements have threatened the life of W. W. Law, president of the Savannah, Georgia, branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and member of the NAACP national board.

These threats, following the Christmas 1951 bomb-murder of Harry T. Moore, leader of the NAACP in the neighboring state of Florida, must be taken with the utmost seriousness. The murderers of Harry T. Moore and his wife have never been punished — a fact that undoubtedly emboldens Ku Klux elements everywhere.

According to the **Savannah Tribune,** a Negro newspaper, members of Law's family have received anonymous phone calls denouncing Law for his activities on behalf of his people and warning them "to get some place to bury him."

Following the phone calls, a chain of ominous events occurred. A Negro youth was stopped on a road by a group of white men in an auto who inquired about the location of Law's home. The young man, a former official of the NAACP, was immediately suspicious and noted the car's license number. When the men had driven away he called the Savannah police and gave them the information and the license number.

A little later the same car made five trips slowly past Mr. Law's house flashing a bright light on it as it passed. Some of the neighbors in Savannah's southwest section, where Mr. Law lives, banded together and kept watch all night over the NAACP leader's house. Mr. Law was out of the city at the time.

Upon his return to Savannah, Mr. Law said that it was the job of the police department to protect his home but added that he had personally obtained some good infantry training in the Army during the last war.

The anonymous phone callers alleged that Law had accompanied a delegation from the Civil Rights Congress which came from New York in a vain endeavor to visit Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram at the state prison on Christmas day.

The delegation of six Negro and six white women, which had been assured by Georgia Governor Talmadge that they could visit the framed-up Negro mother and her two sons, was stopped on the road a mile from the state prison by Georgia highway patrolmen who refused to let them pass lest they start a "riot."

U.S. casualties in Korea up to Jan. 28 were 129,153, according to the Defense Dept. This includes 20,392 killed in action, 95,373 wounded, and 20,392 missing.

No Korea Peace, Dulles Indicates

(Continued from page 1)

in Europe and intensifying the wars in Asia by charging that "we have enemies who are plotting our destruction. These enemies are the Russian Communists and their allies in other countries . . . the Soviet Communists are carrying out a policy which they call encirclement. . ."

U.S. "ENCIRCLED"?

But why should the "Soviet Communists," as Dulles declares, want to grab off the rest of the world and "encircle" the United States? Dulles offers no logical explanation. On the contrary, he indicates there is no great internal economic pressure on the non-capitalist countries to expand — "the vast area of Asia-Europe, which our enemies control, has within it all of the natural resources which they need." But, "on the other hand, we are largely dependent on overseas goods," he admits. The pressure for expansion, therefore, is on the U.S. capitalists.

And this is the truth of the matter. What Dulles calls a "policy of encirclement" by the "Soviet Communists," as his numerous examples prove, refers really to the independence struggles in Asia, Africa and South America to break the grip of foreign capitalists who have been looting these countries of their natural resources and exploiting their peoples for decades and centuries.

The "Communists," he asserts, for instance, are trying to "arouse the native people into revolt against the Western Europeans who still have political control of most of Africa . . . that would break the contact between Europe and Africa, Africa being a large source of raw materials for Europe." **But wouldn't these countries, if independent sell these raw materials to the U.S. and Western Europe? The Soviet Union and China have been begging to sell goods and materials to the capitalist world. That's the trouble. The capitalists don't want to buy them; they want to steal them at the point of a gun.**

THE REAL ENCIRCLEMENT

As for encirclement, it is U.S. imperialism that has built a menacing ring of atomic bombers and armies around the Soviet Union. The "sun never sets on U.S. frontiers," boasted the U.S. **News and World Report** recently. "Touch almost any spot on the map . . . and you touch a U.S. project. U.S. troops are at war in Asia, on guard in Europe, on duty in the Arctic, South America, Africa, the Middle East. . . Americans, aiding the world, are everywhere. Stalin isn't"

U.S. bombers in Korea drop high explosives within yards of the Chinese and Russian borders. U.S. warships hold maneuvers right in the mouth of the Baltic Sea. U.S. military bases have been built in 29 foreign countries around the Soviet Union and China, from Greenland, through Germany, England, France, Italy and North Africa, to Okinawa and Japan. U.S. military missions and supplies have been sent to another 28 foreign countries.

"The picture is one of Americans extending themselves in all directions," affirms the U.S. News. "More than 1.5 million men are in American military forces in foreign lands. . . **In Europe** . . American land and air forces are scattered over the Continent, up to the Elbe. . . **In Africa and Near East** . . . Americans are there by the thousands. . . Outside airfields for use by U.S. bombers . . . now near Casablanca . . . Tripoli . . . Dharan . . . Turkey . . . **In Asia** . . . Japan is a major American base, manned by more than 100,000 Americans in uniform," etc.

Dulles' accusation of "encirclement" by the Soviet Union reverses the true state of affairs. He is like the drunk who staggered around the outside of a circular cage in the zoo and yelled, "I'm trapped!" Only Dulles isn't drunk — he's lying, in order to hide who is really encircling whom.

Plane losses of U.S. Navy and Marine Corps (does not include Air Force or Army losses) in Korea since the "police action" began total 1,016.

'I Stake My Life'

By Leon Trotsky

Leon Trotsky's name is again in the press! The great revolutionary socialist leader who was murdered by an agent of Stalin in 1940 is still listed in the Kremlin as a mortal foe — his emancipating ideas cannot be buried!

Read why Trotsky made the following sensational promise to an impartial commission willing to seriously investigate the charges made against him in the Moscow frame-up trials: " . . .if this Commission decides that I am guilty in the slightest degree of the crimes which Stalin imputes to me, I pledge in advance to place myself voluntarily in the hands of the executioners of the GPU."

20 pages — 10 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Gangster Tells "My Day" on N.Y. Waterfront

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Jan. 26 — Edward G. Robinson once starred in a satire about gang warfare, "A Slight Case of Murder." The testimony of two waterfront gunmen before the State Crime Commission this week makes the movie with all its corpses seem like an understatement.

In an offhand manner, the two mobsters detailed a picture of killings, attempted killings, mayhem and hijacking on the docks of this city that seems scarcely credible and yet happens to be brutally factual. Their story indicates what the longshore workers are up against in trying to break the triple alliance of bosses, union officials and gangsters.

Francis Smith, now doing a stretch at Greenhaven Prison, was brought before the Commission to describe his waterfront career. His story begins when he was released from Comstock prison on parole in 1935. The following are excerpts from his testimony:

Q. — What did you do when you got out of Comstock, did you go to see some friends? A. — Yes sir, I went to see my friends John Harvey, Thomas Porter and George Keeler and we decided to take a pier on the waterfront off two brothers by the name of Dillon, which we did.

Q. —Now when you say you decided to take a pier you mean that you'd do it by force. A. Yes, sir.

Q. — And did you chase these two brothers off that pier? A. — Well, they went off without any trouble.

Q. — You just told them to go and they went? A. — Yes, sir.

Q. — Did you suggest to them what might happen if they didn't go? A. — Well, they knew what would happen when we told them.

SHOT IN STOMACH

Smith described one case of pier hijacking involving an effort by himself and his partners to steal a truckload of Russian furs, only to have it snatched out from under their nose by some friends. Here is his account of the warfare that resulted:

Q. — Now, we come to the incident in 1935 when there was some shooting going on. A. — Yes, myself, Harvey and Porter was sitting in Keeler's car outside of pier 72. A car pulls down on us with John Dunn, Peck Hughes, George Dagget, and Bob Pells. They pulled up alongside and opened fire on us. I got shot in the stomach and Hughes let go with a shot gun hit my leg in eight places.

The witness said he was taken to New Jersey to be treated by a doctor and then holed up in Cliffside, N. J., where, he testified, Chief of Police Borelli told him, "If anybody came along for us, they would let us know." Borelli was described by a previous witness as the silent partner to former Hoboken International Longshoremen's Association chieftain Ed Florio, who is now doing time on a Federal perjury conviction.

After his partners were murdered, and the men who murdered them were bumped off in turn, Smith said the two opposing factions arrived at a deal. "We made a deadline; that I wasn't supposed to go beyond Fourteenth St. and they weren't supposed to come up to my neighborhood." **At this point the Commission counsel entered into the record the fact that four survivors of these events named by Smith are presently active on the waterfront as hiring bosses and boss loaders.**

Additional startling information was presented to the hearing by one Dominick Genova, a former member of the Mickey Bowers gang which rules ILA Local 824, the "pistol local." A fugitive from the gang since 1948, Genova gave his testimony and was then spirited out a back door of the courthouse.

Genova testified that after one of his sojourns in prison he went down to the docks to visit John ("Apples") Applegate, a foreman for the French Line on pier 88. He had struck up a friendship with "Apples," he said, while they were at Sing Sing together. He told the Commission that "Apples" introduced him to the union delegates, Gregory, "the Bandit," who put him to work the next morning. **He said he received a union book, but never paid his initiation fee or any dues. During that time hundreds of members were unemployed.**

The witness testified that Applegate had described himself as a partner with Mickey Bowers and others "in the enterprise of robbing banks." He said that about a month after Gregory was murdered in 1940, Applegate informed him that "Bowers had agreed to take over" the Local.

He told how in 1944 Thomas Gleason, one of their associates, called Mickey Bowers out of a bar, engaged him in seemingly friendly talk and then suddenly pulled out a knife "and cut his throat." When Bowers, still bleeding, returned from an unsuccessful pursuit of his assailant, he said, according to Genova, "Well, he's going to have to go. You do people a favor and that's what you get." "A week or two later," Genova testified, "he (Gleason) was murdered in an undertaking parlor, sitting there having a snooze. Some one walked in and shot him."

BALKS AT DOING "FAVOR"

Genova testified that his own present difficulties began in 1947 when "word came to me that Apples had been badly disfigured about the face with a beer glass over an argument about some girl by a fellow named Weiss who was supposed to be a milk truck driver." He said that he visited his old prison buddy in the hospital and asked if there was anything he could do for him. That sympathetic question "was the cause of all my troubles today," Genova recalled. He quoted Applegate as saying, "This guy (Weiss) has got to go, and you're not known in the neighborhood, and I want somebody from out of the neighborhood to take care of him."

Genova said he balked at doing murder and Applegate told him he was sorry he mentioned it. The next day Genova said he was advised by Mickey Bowers that he no longer had a job. He got work as a truck driver in Brooklyn but one night his boss asked Genova to drive to a meeting with him. On the way his boss told him that he had been instructed by Applegate "to set Genova up," that is, to bring him to a place of execution. Fortunately his boss liked him and let him get out of the car and said he would tell Applegate that he had refused to come with him. Meanwhile, Genova said, the milkman had been machine-gunned to death. In return for his testimony, Genova is now under 'round-the-clock police protection.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents three talks on
Negro History Week

1. Civil War and Before
2. The Reconstruction Period
3. Since World War II

Fri., Feb. 6, 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market Street

NEW YORK
Friday Night Socialist Forum
Crime and Politics

Speaker:
Harry Ring
Contributor to The Militant
Fri., Feb. 6, 8 P.M.
Militant Hall
116 University Place
(near Union Square)
Questions, Discussion, Refreshments
Contribution 25 Cents

SEATTLE
Friday Night Socialist Forum
Behind Stalin's New Purges
"A Trotskyist Analysis"

Speaker:
John Black
Fri., Feb. 6, 8 P.M.
201 Maynard Bldg.
1st Ave. So. & Washington
Discussion, Refreshments
Contribution 25 Cents

PHILADELPHIA
Friday Night Forum
Bolivia in Revolt
Fri., Feb. 6, 8:30 P.M.
1303 Girard Avenue
Questions, Discussion
Refreshments